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ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, marking his transition from boyhood to adulthood.

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification.

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions.

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, *vōṭé* reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore.

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground.

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that

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which he was a member.[1] In addition to this, recent changes in Hindu law, which apply to Coorgs also, have been such as to encourage individual acquisition at the expense of the *okka*.

The ancient custom of Coorgs recognized individual property only to a very limited extent, and that too only in movables. For instance, the younger members of an *okka* could cultivate, in the non-paddy season, and after they had contributed their daily quota of work to the joint estate, crops like ginger and turmeric. When these were sold a share was given to the *okka* for having provided the land on which they were grown.

The encouragement given to the ideas of partition and individual acquisition, the uprooting of Coorgs from their ancestral estates owing to the new political and economic structure stretching all over India, and the growing appeal of individualist ideas to the people, are all adversely affecting the solidarity of the *okka*. The elementary family, which was a weak entity in the traditional structure, is emerging with greater distinctness nowadays.

IX

In a sense, only men are full members of the *okka*, but such rights as women do possess in it are of paramount importance to them, and the granting of these rights in the bridegroom's *okka* is the crucial point in the marriage ritual. The granting of rights to the bride in the groom's *okka* is accompanied by the severance of her connexion with her natal *okka*. But such severance is not complete and irrevocable. The entire process is symbolized in the transference of twelve pebbles from the bride's natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

After marriage, then, a girl is a member of her conjugal *okka*, and her membership does not become extinct even if she becomes a widow. She is entitled to stay in her conjugal home and to be maintained out of its income. She has also the right to be buried after death in its burial-ground.

The bride is given membership in the groom's *okka*, and not rights in the groom's share in the ancestral property of his *okka*. The entire idea of an individual having a share in the ancestral property of his *okka* is a comparatively recent introduction into Coorg law. Traditionally, the immovable property of an *okka*

[1] G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, p. 130.

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621 765 is a taboo on cooking being done in the mourning house till the corpse is removed.

621 796 On certain occasions the entire village co-operates, though the lower castes co-operate at a different level from others. An example will make clear what we mean. Every caste in the village co-operates during the harvest festival of Coorgs. It is the harvest festival of *Coorgs* alone, and not, for instance, of the Mēdas or Poleyas. The Mēdas beat the tom-tom and Poleyas play on their pipes to the dancing of Coorgs. Every Coorg *okka* has to send all the adult men in it to the village dance and hunt. Poleyas and Mēdas act as beaters at this hunt while the other castes do the shooting. Later, there is a dinner for the entire village, called, appropriately enough, *ūrormé*, i.e. 'village harmony', where the game killed in the hunt is cooked. Every male member of the village participates in this dinner, Coorgs and equivalent castes sitting together, while Mēdas and Poleyas form separate groups. The meat is cooked by Coorgs and equivalent castes, while every house brings its own supply of *puṭṭ*, or cooked rice-flour, which is eaten with the curry. The Brahmin does not participate in the village dinner as it is cooked by castes lower to him in the hierarchy. Besides, he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. It may be noted that the Brahmin is almost as frequently excluded from village activities as the Untouchable. The Brahmin does not hunt or dance, nor does he favour the propitiation of deities with animal sacrifice and liquor.

[574] Every member of the village is required to observe certain rules during the harvest festival. He has to keep the door of his house open and the sacred domestic lamps lit. He must be hospitable to parties of singers and dancers and mix with other villagers. He must refrain from abusing and fighting even if there is provocation from the other party.

Though parties of Coorg singers did not visit the houses of Mēdas and Poleyas, even the latter were required to observe the rules. Every caste, including Mēdas and Poleyas, was present when inquiry into cases of breaches of rules took place.

[585] A wedding in a Coorg house requires the co-operation of all the castes in the village, and the fee payable to them is fixed by custom. It is the same with the festival of the village-deity, though sometimes the Poleyas are almost entirely excluded from this festival. During the festival of Kētrappa at Bēngūr, the Poleyas may not be

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as symbols of its identity and individuality, if not superiority. The saw '*ār nāḍku nūr pājé*', which might be translated as 'six *nāḍs*, hundred customs', testifies to the great cultural diversity within Coorg.

A *nāḍ* might differ from other *nāḍs* in the matter of the date of observance of important festivals such as the harvest festival and festival of arms. It might also differ in the articles used in the festival ritual: for instance, the plants used in the harvest festival ritual vary in different *nāḍs*, and this is due to the fact that in each area the plants locally prolific are chosen to express a wish for growth.

The various villages of a *nāḍ* co-operate on certain occasions as the harvest festival and the periodical festival of the local village-deity. During the harvest festival, on the day after the village dance (*ūr kōlu*), a dance for the entire *nāḍ* (*nāḍ kōlu*) is held in which all the men of the *nāḍ* take part. Games testing the strength and skill of individuals are also held on this occasion, and this provides an opportunity for the canalization of inter-village rivalry, just as at a festival in a village the games played canalizes inter-*okka* rivalry.

When the bridegroom is marching in state to the bride's house it is customary for the villages in the groom's *nāḍ* to offer him the 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): a row of three stout plaintain stems are fixed to the ground near the boundary (*mundalé*) of the village or *nāḍ*, and the groom is asked to cut the stems with his sword. The groom delegates someone to cut the stems on his behalf. The man offering the groom the 'plantain honour' should be wearing a Coorg gown, and he offers the party warm water to wash their hands and feet, mats to sit on, and betel leaves and areca-nut to chew. (Warm water, mat, and betel and nut are all symbols of hospitality and respect in Coorg as elsewhere in India.) If the party arrive at night the host provides them with torches for the road. The groom has to pay a money gift of two *paṇas* (about six annas) to the host in acknowledgement of the honour and hospitality done to him and his party.

A man has a great love for his *nāḍ*. This comes out repeatedly in Coorg folklore. An infant boy, called Chondu, was orphaned, and the *nāḍ* elders had to make arrangements for his care. When Chondu reached the years of discretion he wanted to show how deeply he appreciated what his *nāḍ* had done for him. He deter-

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The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kaṇḍa mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor.

A man who had lost two wives in succession was ritually married to a plantain tree before marrying his third wife. The marriage to the plantain tree was called '*bāḷek mangala*', or 'plantain *mangala*', and the tree was cut down soon after the *mangala*.

The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangala*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'.

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*.

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage

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585 is considered in this chapter while the non-*mangala* part is considered in Chapter V.

There are, then, several *mangalas*, of which marriage is one, and 788 at each of these *mangalas*, *mūrta* is performed. *Mūrta* may be regarded as a typical ritual complex. The ritual complex of *mūrta* consists of several ritual acts, and it is proposed to discover the meaning of each of them by the application of the three rules formulated by Professor Radcliffe-Brown. (1) 'When the same or similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them.'[1] (2) 'When different customs are practised on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs.'[2] (3) 'If two rites are found associated with one another on different occasions then there is something in common between the different occasions.'[3]

The central figure of a rite is referred to in this book as the subject. But the subject of *mūrta* is referred to as the 'subject of *mangala*' as *mūrta* is always a part of *mangala*. The term has been retained even where the rite in question is peculiar to marriage, as marriage is also a *mangala*, and the term 'subject' is applicable to the bride as well as the groom. It is only when a rite is performed by either the bride or groom exclusively that 'subject' is discarded in favour of either of the former, more specific terms.

II

796 The astrologer selects an auspicious day for the performance of [781] *mangala*, and an even more auspicious part of that day for the performance of *mūrta*, which is the most important part of *mangala*. [805] It is interesting to note that the Coorg term *mūrta* is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit *mūhurta*, which means a 'particular division of time, the thirtieth part of a day, a period of 48 minutes'.[4]

796 The house in which the *mangala* ritual takes place is cleaned, and its walls are colour-washed, and a decorated booth (*pandal*) of 346 five pillars, one of which is a branch of a milk-exuding tree, is erected in front of the house. Poleyas and Medas beat tom-toms and play pipes in front of the house, and Coorg youths dance to the music.

[1] *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1933 (2nd edition), p. 235.
[2] Ibid., p. 2. [3] *Taboo*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 36.
[4] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 825.

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to dead ancestors, which are made in every Coorg house, are made in the kitchen alone instead of in the ancestor-shrine or anywhere else.

There are two types of houses in Coorg, one which has an open quadrangle in the middle and the other in which there is no such open quadrangle. In the former type, the four corners of the open quadrangle are supported by four pillars, and four planks (*aimaras*) connect the four pillars at a height of about 2½ feet from the ground. These planks are regarded as sacred: none may step across them, and no woman may sit on one of them.

Planks are affixed to the top of the parapet wall in the veranda. One of these planks is called the 'ancestors' plank' (*kāraṇavaṇḍa aimara*), and it is regarded as sacred. None may sleep on it. I have heard that anyone sleeping on the 'ancestors' plank' in the house of the Karavaṇḍa *okka* is thrown down to the floor by the spirits of the ancestors.

Women very rarely visit the veranda (*kaiyālé*), and when they visit it they may not sit on one of the planks there. Nor are they allowed to sit on the planks in the central hall, though very old women occasionally take the liberty of doing so when the senior males are away. On the second day of marriage the bride sits on a plank in the veranda of the groom's house, and this is part of the ritual of admitting her into her husband's house.

At some distance from the main building is a shrine (*kaimaḍa*) devoted to the worship of the ancestors. During the periodical ancestor-propitiations (*kāraṇava téré*), small figurines representing the ancestors are kept in the shrine and worshipped. During festivals, a lamp is lit in the shrine, and cooked food is placed before the lamp.

Kaimaḍas or ancestor-shrines seem to be a recent phenomenon, and before they became popular the dead ancestors were represented by unhewn stones fixed in earthen platforms which were built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. These platforms were called '*kāraṇava taré*' or 'ancestors' platform'. Even today in Kiggaṭnāḍ there are only ancestor-platforms and no ancestor-*shrines*.

Like the ancestors, cobra-deities are represented by unhewn stones[1] and fixed in platforms built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. The vegetation growing near a cobra-platform is

[1] Minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika are also represented by similar stones, and occasionally found alongside stones representing cobra-deities.

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the white original: it is of wool, has short sleeves, and a V-shaped neck permitting the display of a collar and tie. The white gown is ritually superior to the black gown.

Usually the gown is secured at the waist by a tasselled red silk sash called *chēlé*, but when the subject is sitting for the shaving rite, a red cotton scarf is used instead of the silk sash.

The subject salutes the lamp in the south-western room, the south-western pillar, and the wall-lamp before sitting on the tripod stool placed on a mat. Near the mat is a dining-dish (*taḷi*) containing milk, and a harvest-basket containing some rice, a coconut, a bunch of plantains, and betel leaves and areca-nut.

Water may not be used for shaving on this occasion. Milk is used instead. The shavings are put into the dining-dish, and later the barber empties the dish at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

A distinctive form of shaving prevails at marriage, and perhaps at subsequent *mangalas* (it does not, however, prevail at the ear-boring *mangala*). The front of the head is shaved in such a manner that it leaves two 'horns' above the temples, formed by the shaved patches. This mode of shaving is called '*kombanjavara*' which means 'horn shave'.

The harvest-basket containing rice, plantains, and the bell-metal dining-dish, and the scarf at the subject's waist, are given as gifts to the barber.

Two other men get themselves shaved after the subject. All over south India it is common at a wedding for two or four companions of the subject to 'accompany' him (or her) in certain rites. For instance, two men are given a bath along with the groom, and two girls are given a bath along with the bride.

In the south-western parts of Coorg the bride undergoes, before *mūrta*, a rite called '*kūrangodi muripa*', which is analogous to shaving. The bride's brother's wife removes from the bride's head a thin wisp of hair, and pares her nails. (The barber normally pares the nails after shaving a man.) These are put into a dining-dish containing milk. Later, the dining-dish is emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

Coorgs are generally more Westernized in their ways than others in Coorg, and there are more cropped heads among them than among others. But formerly they, like other Hindus, had their entire heads shaved but for a tuft of hair at the crown. Tufts started giving place to cropped heads towards the close of the last

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765 302 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 182 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 [343] The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject [533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom [585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[177] [1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India. Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

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coulu or salt-impregnated earth[1] has been dissolved. With the aid of a few mango leaves he sprinkles the solution all over the house and this act rids the house of its impurity and restores it to normal ritual status. Nowadays, however, Coorgs increasingly call on a Brahmin to purify the house on the twelfth day.

It is probable the washerman was employed as purifier because of his occupation. But such a duty is not consistent with the position he normally occupies in the caste hierarchy. For instance, he is prohibited from entering the more sacred parts of an ancestral house, like the kitchen and central hall, as he defiles them by his presence. If, however, he has to enter them in the exercise of his duties—at marriage he covers the ceiling of the central hall with clean white sheets—they are purified subsequently. But no such inconsistency exists in the case of the Brahmin, and the increasing tendency to employ him is part of the general process of Sanskritization of Coorg customs.

VIII

After having been given a bath by three married women, the groom is helped into his ritual robes and ornaments by the best man. He has to wear a white cotton gown for the *mūrta*, and this is worn in such a way that the right side comes over the left side. A red silk sash secures the gown at the waist. The ornamental Coorg knife, *piché kaṭṭi*, is tucked into the sash in front, and the broad Coorg sword, *oḍi katti*, hangs from its clasp at the groom's back. The clasp is fixed to a chain which is tied round the groom's waist. The groom also wears a number of ornaments.

The groom wears the Coorg turban (*pāni manḍé tuṇi*) which is flat at the top and also covers the back of the head. He may not wear any sandals, however, as leather defiles. He carries in his hand a staff (*gejjé taṇḍ*) with small bells tied to it near the top.

The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kaḷa kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head. She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and also ornaments on her ankles, feet, and toes.

The best man and matron of honour hold a white cloth umbrella over the groom and bride respectively.[2]

[1] The washerman uses *coulu* for washing clothes.

[2] Round about Mercara the bride and groom both wear a red silk veil during *mūrta*. In the southernmost part of Coorg, however, the veil is not worn by

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Nowadays, the black, woollen, half-sleeved gown is coming into fashion. Every Coorg who can afford it sports it at festivals, dances, and weddings. It has become a mark of wealth and status, and the white cotton gown which has superior ritual status is becoming almost a symbol of poverty. But even now the subject of a *mangala*, as distinct from others who are not as important, wears a white gown. Any suggestion that he should discard the white gown in favour of the black would meet with opposition from one and all. It may be mentioned here that the hero Kaiyandira Appayya, to whom reference has already been made, was prohibited from doing a number of things which an ordinary Coorg did, such as handling a plough, eating bamboo shoots, and wearing a black gown. He was required to wear a white gown always.

The corpse, which is in some respects treated as similar to the subject of a *mangala*, is dressed in a white gown, but with the underside on top if it is going to be cremated, and with the left side over the right if it is going to be buried.

Formerly, mourners also wore the white gown, but in a particular way: the right hand did not pass through the right arm of the gown, but instead it was allowed to hang limp from the right shoulder. The gown was secured at the waist by a black sash instead of a red one.

The white gown is worn on all important ritual occasions. Ritual occasions are either auspicious or inauspicious, and there is need to differentiate between them. Hence, though the subject of *mangala*, corpse and mourner, are all dressed in a white gown, the mode of wearing it is different in each case. The subject of *mangala* wears it in the normal way, while in the case of a corpse it is reversed, and in the case of the mourner the right arm drops loosely from the shoulder.

Nowadays, however, all active mourners wear a white waist-cloth (*muṇḍu*) and shoulder-cloth (*tuṇḍu*). In the case of women mourners, two of the four corners of the shoulder-cloth are tied in a knot in front in such a way that the breasts are covered. A waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth are normally the ritual dress of Hindus in Malabar.

either party. Between Mercara and the Wynāḍ border, in Kiggaṭnāḍ, only the bride wears a veil, and the groom removes her veil prior to consummating the marriage on the second night. The veil is generally uncommon among Hindus in south India and is worn only by the women of the ruling castes. It is likely that the women of the royal families in pre-British Coorg wore the veil regularly.

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Red colour seems to have greater ritual value than white, and silk greater ritual value than cotton. For instance, at a wedding, the ceiling of the sacred central hall is covered with white cloths, except for the part just above the bridal seat which is covered with red cloths. All the bride's clothes are of red silk, and according to the ancient marriage song the groom wore a red silk gown and red silk turban.

When a man (or woman) dies his relatives have to carry gifts of white cotton cloths to him. But the dead man's sisters' children, or dead woman's brothers' children, have to carry gifts of red silk cloths. Those who bring gifts of red silk cloths are considered to be closer relatives than those who bring white cotton cloths. It is those who bring red silk cloths who take part, along with the dead man's eldest son and widow, in the important pot-breaking rite (*koḍa kukkuva*) which ritually severs the dead man's connexion with his living relatives.

The ritual preference of silk to cotton is widespread all over peninsular India among Brahmins, and it is very likely that Coorgs borrowed the use of red silk from the Brahmins of the west coast. The use of red silk in ritual is not very clearly defined—at least it is not as clearly defined as the use of the white gown.

The turban is worn on very important auspicious occasions like a wedding. On less formal occasions a Coorg ties a scarf round his head. Both men and women tie a scarf round their heads out of doors. But no form of head-dress, turban, scarf, or cap, is worn inside the house. When a kinswoman comes into the house the hostess removes her scarf. Failure to do so would be an insult, as it would amount to treating the kinswoman as a stranger. Absence of head-dress indicates the intimacy that prevails among the members of a household. It is presumably for this reason that everyone, including the senior mourners, has to remove his scarf and sandals before the corpse. Such removal shows that the dead man and mourners are members of one household. They are kindred, and kinship is intimacy. When two people are able to appear before each other without scarves they are intimate, they are members of the same household. It is an expression of the solidarity prevalent between the two.

There is a great social and ritual elaboration of the distinction between a married woman and a widow. A married woman or *garati* is one whose first and only husband is alive. Remarried

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While white rice is used in auspicious ritual, rice yellowed with turmeric is used in inauspicious ritual. At the very important funeral rite of 'breaking the pot', each of the mourners sprinkles a little rice, yellowed with turmeric, on the corpse before saluting it.

The ritual sprinkling of rice on objects and persons usually accompanies salutation. In *mūrta*, the sprinkling of rice occurs with salutation and with the giving of milk and money presents. All these rites affirm a bond which exists between the subject and all those who perform them to him. These are members of his kin-group, caste-group, and village. They constitute his community. These rites of solidarity which affirm the existence of a bond between the subject and the community serve also to stress the importance of the particular *mangala* the subject is undergoing.

It is entirely proper that rice and not any other grain or article should be used in the most common solidarity rite in Coorg. Even today rice has a very important place in the social and economic life of Coorgs, and formerly, before the introduction of coffee and oranges into Coorg, it was the most valuable crop.[1]

XI

The ritual of giving milk to the subject follows the sprinkling of rice on him. This, like the other ritual acts mentioned earlier, is performed at every *mangala* including marriage. While the structure of every *mangala* is, broadly speaking, the same, there are minor differences between one *mangala* and another. The ritual giving of milk at marriage makes the meaning of ritual milk-giving particularly clear.

On the first day of marriage *mūrta* is performed separately for the bride and groom *in their respective homes*. The bride's relatives and the high-caste members of her village perform *mūrta* to her *in her house*, and the groom's relatives and members of his village perform *mūrta* to him *in his house*.

On the second day, the groom's relatives go in state to the bride's house, and the groom's relatives perform *mūrta* to the bride. For this purpose *they carry some of their own rice and milk with them*.

The bride's relatives perform *mūrta* to the groom and, finally,

[1] Among the Brahmins of south India the assembled priests and relatives bless the bridal pair by sprinkling on them rice yellowed with turmeric.

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the groom performs *mūrta* to the bride. Later in the day the bride leaves her natal home and accompanies the groom to his home. Relatives of the groom who did not accompany him to the bride's house now perform *mūrta* to the bride.

When a marriage takes place, it is not only two persons who come together but two kin-groups. They come together through the acquisition of two common objects of interest. But before marriage the bride was only an object of common interest to her natal kin-group, and the groom to his natal kin-group.

When a marriage takes place, there is a change in the social personalities of the bride and groom. It gives them new rights and obligations. Some of this is symbolized in marriage ritual: for instance, the bride loses her rights in her natal *okka* and acquires them, instead, in her conjugal *okka*; she carries water from the groom's *okka's* well to his kitchen; and finally she carries manure to the groom's ancestral paddy-field.

Every *mangala* marks a change in the social personality of the subject: he moves from one position in the status system to another. On such an occasion the group concerned performs towards him a series of solidarity rites. The performance of these solidarity rites shows that the group concerned authorizes and approves of the change in the social personality of the subject. A casteman or relative who fails to attend the particular *mangala* is understood as not approving of it. Relations between him and those who attend become strained. He has effected a breach in the solidarity.

Like the sprinkling of rice, the giving of milk is a common ritual act in Coorg. At the naming ceremony of a child, the mother puts the infant into the cradle and says, 'Chengappa, get up to eat rice mixed with milk.' She smears the child's tongue with a little cream, using a gold coin to scoop the cream contained in a bowl.

A child is given solid food to eat six months after birth: and this food usually consists of cooked rice mixed with milk and sugar. On the second day after marriage, when the bride enters her conjugal home, her mother-in-law combs her hair and gives her rice mixed with milk to eat. The latter dish is considered a great delicacy.

Milk is used not only on good-sacred occasions but also on bad-sacred occasions. When an infant dies, a coconut-shell containing milk from its mother's breasts is placed over the grave; and if it is a few months old, rice mixed with milk is placed there instead.

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On the day after the cremation of a corpse, the dead man's son goes to the burial-ground, and on the spot where the dead man was buried he pours successively a vessel of water and a vessel of milk.

Milk is a very valued commodity, and the ritual giving of milk indicates that solidarity is, or ought to be, prevalent between the giver and the recipient. It is also a symbol of pleasure, luxury, and happiness, and consequently mourners abstain from it while they offer it to the spirit of the departed person. The mourners also abstain from other valued objects like curd, honey, mushrooms, meat, and betel leaves and areca-nut, which are again offered to the dead person's spirit.

A kinsman who drank milk during the mourning-period would be guilty of impiety towards the dead person. In the neighbouring Kannaḍa country it is considered a very bitter abuse to tell a person, 'I will drink milk when you die.'

The use of milk is extended from solidarity rites to other rites which have either no reference to solidarity at all or at best only a very indirect one. While ordinarily water is used in shaving a man, milk is used while shaving a bridegroom. The dish containing the milk and the shavings is later emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding tree like the jack tree (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The placenta is similarly buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. One of the five pillars of a marriage *pandal* has to be a branch of a milk-exuding tree. After a corpse has been cremated the bones are consigned either to a river or buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. At mourning, leaf-cups made from the leaves of the jack tree are used to offer food to the spirit of the departed person.

XII

Everyone who performs *mūrta* to the subject should give a money-gift, and the three married women are expected to give a gold coin (*pombaṇa*) each. At a wedding the mother of the bride (or groom), and the groom while performing *mūrta* to the bride, have to give a purse containing several coins, one of which should be a gold coin.

A money-gift has to be given not only at *mangala* but on other occasions as well: relatives who come to pay their last respects to the dead man perform a series of solidarity rites at the end of which they give a money-gift. Again, an infant has to be given a money-

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gift on the occasion of giving him (or her) a name. In fact, a relative who is seeing an infant for the first time must give a money-gift. On the second day of marriage, when the bride visits the groom's house, she gives a money-gift to every infant in her conjugal *okka*. Later the groom does the same in the bride's *okka*.

It is hardly necessary to state that the giving of a money-gift does not always constitute a solidarity rite. It may be given in return for a service, which, however, might be purely nominal. A guest to a wedding gives a *paṇa* to each of the two girls holding a dish-lamp in his honour at the entrance to the bridal house.

At the wedding the elders of the groom's village publicly examine the box containing the bride's trousseau. They are collectively given five *paṇas* (fifteen annas), and this money is called 'witness money' (*sākshi paṇa*). Subsequently, if there is a dispute as to the contents of the bride's box the elders will be called upon to give evidence. Such disputes do not normally occur, however, except in the event of the woman wanting to return to her natal *okka* on becoming a widow, or after being divorced. Again, when the bride's family friend consents to hold himself responsible for her good behaviour in the groom's house he is paid a *paṇa* as 'witness-money'. The groom's family friend is paid similarly for holding himself responsible for the good behaviour of the groom's relatives.

In the above instances the passing of money from one hand to another has the effect of sealing a contract. It may also be interpreted as payment in advance for some service to be rendered in the future. An occasion might not, and usually does not, arise requiring the elders or either of the family friends to render the service expected of them or him, and the strictly nominal character of the payment might be attributed to this fact. Such an interpretation is plausible, but does not appear to us to be true. In the instance just mentioned the emphasis seems to be much more on the fact of the acceptor of the money binding himself to a particular course of action in the future rather than on the services to be rendered in the future.

A gold coin is placed in the mouth of a dead man if the latter was a married man. This coin is referred to as 'money for the road'. It probably refers to the expenses which the dead man's soul incurs on its journey. No gold coin is, however, placed in the mouth if the dead man was a bachelor, or had the reputation of being very wicked. In such a case a very bitter fruit called '*kānyaṇat kāyi*' is

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XIV

533 A band is considered essential to every ritual occasion: at *mangalas*, calendar festivals, and festivals of village-deities a band plays most of the time.

[585] A close relative comes to a wedding accompanied by his own band. He must be received by the hosts with band, and again, when he departs, the hosts must accompany him a little distance with their band leading the way. When the relative finally takes leave of the hosts he pays the latters' band three *paṇas*, one for the men blowing the horns, another for the pipers, and the third for the drummers.

[764] Relatives coming to pay their last respects to the dead man are also required to be accompanied by their band. If they are not accompanied by their own band, they arrange to hire the services of the local band, at some distance from the mourning-house.

[765] A band plays before a mourning-house too, but the beat (*chāvu paré* = death-beat) employed on this occasion is distinctive, and it may not be employed on an auspicious occasion.

533 585 [558] The presence of a band testifies to the social importance of the occasion or person. A wedding at which there was no band would be inconceivable to a Coorg. Again, if at a wedding an important guest were not received with a band, he would regard it as an insult. Coorgs have an elaborate code of courtesy, and this has to be scrupulously observed.

[574] The *okkas* of the bride and groom have each to give several dinners during the wedding. These dinners are of two kinds: one in which the chief guests are the members of the particular bridal party's own village, and another in which the important guests are from other villages.

621 585 574 The above distinction is important, as it throws light on the social structure. A village forms a unity, and ideally speaking it is not only the bride's (or groom's) *okka*, but her (or his) entire village which ought to act as hosts. Formerly they did not sit down to dinner with the guests from other villages, but waited on the latter along with the members of the host *okka*. They sat down to dinner later.

On the day before the wedding, every house in the village has to send one man and one woman to the bridal house to help in the wedding work. They have to do every kind of work which the

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wedding involves, but their primary duties seem to be cooking the huge dinners and serving them to the guests, and looking after the guests generally.

After the villagers have arrived the head of the bridal house requests them to take charge of the wedding for him and to exercise due economy in the discharge of their duties. In the evening there is a dinner for the villagers which is called *ūrū patti* (village dinner), and which seems to mark their assumption of responsibility. There is another village dinner on the day after the marriage at which the villagers return the 'ladle and spoon' to the bridal *okka*. The return of the 'ladle and spoon' marks the end of the villagers' duties at the wedding. The villagers apologize to the head of the bridal *okka* for any faults they might have committed in the discharge of their duties, and the head thanks them for the great help rendered by them.

The members of a village in which a death has occurred are required to help the bereaved *okka* in several ways during mourning and the latter *okka* give the villagers two dinners at the conclusion of ritual mourning to express their thanks. The services rendered, and the dinners given, are both obligatory, and they are among the many links which bind together the members of the village community.

Besides the above dinners the members of a village occasionally dine together and this is referred to as '*ūrormè*' or 'village harmony'. The solidarity of the village expresses itself at these dinners, even though all the castes in the village do not sit together at them. It has to be remembered in this connexion that the nuclear unit of the Coorg community, the *okka*, is normally a commensal unit. The sub-caste too occasionally dines together, and one of the punishments inflicted on the excommunicated man is that he may not be admitted to the caste dinners.

On the day after the wedding the bride goes to the groom's house where a few rites are performed which symbolize the admission of the bride into the groom's *okka*. The marriage is consummated that night, and the bride returns to her natal house after spending a few days in the groom's house. She is not allowed to be seen by members of her natal village until a dinner has been given to them.

Richter tells us that formerly the bride returning to her natal home was 'treated as unclean', 'shut up like a woman after child-

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birth', and that she was kept in seclusion 'for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family'.[1] Elderly informants deny that she was regarded as unclean, but they do confirm the fact that she was not allowed to see the villagers before a dinner had been given to them.

The bride becomes a member of the groom's *okka* at marriage. The consummation of the marriage in the groom's house on the second night also indicates to her that her future position is that of a mother who contributes children to her husband's *okka*. Marriage in a patrilocal and patrilineal kinship system affects a greater change in the bride's social personality than in the groom's. She is a new person, and this is recognized in her not being allowed to meet the members of her natal village before a dinner has been given them. When there has been a break in the continuity of a relationship, or when a relationship with a new person has to be begun, the best way to do it is with a dinner. Dinner, as we have noted earlier, is an act of solidarity, and the villagers forge their solidarity with the new person, the bride returning to her natal house from the groom's.

XV

All *mangalas* except marriage have either become defunct or so rarely performed that nowadays *mangala* is almost synonymous with marriage. The ritual performed at marriage may be divided into two parts, one part being *mangala*, and the other concerned with the jural aspect of marriage. Only the former part has been analysed in this chapter. By means of this analysis it is hoped to give content to the concept of ritual idiom and to understand the meanings of certain ritual acts which are very common among Coorgs.

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the subject of *mangala* is prepared for *mūrta* by a series of preparatory and purificatory ritual acts such as shaving, bath, and the donning of ritual robes and ornaments. The various occasions on which each one of these preparatory ritual acts is performed have been considered in order to discover their meanings.

Mūrta itself consists of a series of solidarity rites performed on the subject of it by each member of the concerned group. The

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 139.

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'*giving of summanda*'. Sammanda refers to the legal aspect of marriage, whereas *mūrta* refers to the solidarity aspect of it. These two together make up marriage. *Mūrta* has already been discussed at considerable length, and *sammanda* will be considered now.

III

The rights of membership in the groom's *okka* are conferred on the bride at the ritual of *ṣammanda*. The term *sammanda* is used both to indicate the rights of membership in an *okka* as well as the ritual in which such rights are conferred or withdrawn. The Koḍagi term is a corruption of the Sanskrit *sambandha* which means, 'connexion, relation; connexion by marriage, matrimonial alliance, relationship, friendship, intimacy; kinsman; friend; ally'.[1]

Usually, when a person acquires rights of membership in one *okka*, he (or she) by implication loses rights in another *okka*, even though such loss of rights may not be either complete or irrevocable. At an ordinary marriage, for instance, the *sammanda* ritual only confers rights on the bride in the groom's *okka*, but this acquisition of rights in another *okka* implies that the bride loses most of her rights in her natal *okka*. When a wife is divorced, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs the divorcée from her conjugal *okka* and she automatically reverts to her natal *okka*. In the case of a widow who wants to marry someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, *sammanda* is first of all performed severing her connexion with her late husband's *okka*. On such ritual severence, she reverts to her natal *okka*, and *sammanda* is again performed, conferring on her rights in her new husband's *okka*. Between the loss of rights in her late husband's *okka* and the acquisition of rights in her new husband's *okka*, she is a member of her natal *okka*.

The two most important parts of marriage ritual are *mūrta* (part of *mangala*) and *sammanda*. There are three *mūrtas* in an ordinary marriage, two of which give expression to the solidarity prevalent between the groom or bride and his or her kindred respectively. In the third *mūrta* the creation of the new bond between the bride and groom is recognized by the groom's kindred expressing their solidarity with the bride and the bride's kindred with the groom.

[1] Macdonnell, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 339.

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593 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition
596 of two objects of common interest.
585 While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

[587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights
596 of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough
421 fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals
178 for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member
596 of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her con-
587 nexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned presently.

593
596
586 3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her

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makka parijé alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé* wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*. Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social, economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin' (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and

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becomes a member of the groom's *okka*. *Sammanda* ritual effects the transference of the bride to the groom's *okka* and makes clear the legal implications of marriage to everyone concerned.

The *sammanda* ritual is performed at the entrance to the kitchen of the bride's ancestral house. The bride stands inside the kitchen while the groom stands outside, with the threshold in between them. The bride's family friend and two of her kinsmen stand on one side of the groom, while the latter's family friend, and two of his kinsmen stand on the other side. The other relatives and guests watch the proceedings from a distance. The family friends utter the traditional *sammanda* formulas.

I give below a free translation of the Koḍagi text, and I should like to stress the fact that there is some elasticity in the formulae uttered.

Bride's Family Friend: 'The people of both the *nāḍs*, men of the house, relatives and family friend, are they all standing in rows?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'They stand.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'To the girl Pārvati of Nuchchimanéyanḍa *okka* whom we are about to give in marriage to the youth Muttaṇṇa of the Malchira *okka*, will you give the girl *sam*[illegible]*anda* (rights) in the property of the groom's *okka*? Will you give her rights in the Malchira *okka's* land which yields a thousand *bhaṭṭis*[1] of paddy, in the ten *kaṇḍas*[2] of pasture, in the cattle-stand, in the ten pairs of bullocks, in the house, in the garden, in the ten milch cows, in the bamboo receptacle used for milking, in the cattle-shed where the cattle are herded, in the paddy-flat,[3] in the ridges of the paddy-flat, in the manure-heap, in the land which has silted up, in the paddy-field encroached upon by neighbours, in the runaway servant, in the elephant on heat, in the axe which, swinging, they cut, in the knife which, lifting, they cut, in the paddy in the granary, in the two-seer measure used for measuring paddy, in the seer-measure used for measuring rice, in the bell metal dish leaning against the wall, in the wall-lamp, in the stock of salt, in the kitchen stove, in the buried treasure, in the stock of thread, in the piece of cloth used for extracting thread, in the piece of iron used for making

[1] The term '*āyira bhaṭṭi bhūmi*', or 'land which yields 1,000 *bhaṭṭis* of paddy is a conventional term and only means that the groom's *okka* is rich.

[2] A *kaṇḍa* is a plot of land of a certain size.

[3] Rice is cultivated usually in small ridged-up flats or plots. It is very necessary at various stages in its cultivation to stand water for days, if not weeks, in the flats.

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needles, in the tiny *chundekka*[1] fruit, and in brief, in everything from one to one hundred, will you give her rights (*sammanda*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'We give.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'On the marriage of our child into your *okka* our servants will carry on their heads goods worth a thousand *birāns*[2] in a box worth five hundred *birāns*. If this goes, who is the family friend to be held responsible for the loss?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I belong to Chīranda *okka*, and I am the family friend of Malchira *okka*.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Are you the family friend attached to their soil (*mannaruva*), or have you been hired with gold for the occasion (*ponnaruva*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I am both the traditional family friend and the family friend hired with gold for the occasion.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take these twelve pieces of gold.'

[195] 'Pieces of gold' is only a euphemism, however: the groom's family friend is actually given pebbles. He is given only eleven pebbles, one pebble being retained as already mentioned.

Groom's Family Friend: 'I have received eleven pieces of gold. If your innocent child, the girl who is married to our boy, complains that the rice is too hot, or that the curry is too pungent, or that her father-in-law is abusive, or that her mother-in-law is niggardly, or that her husband is impotent, or that she cannot stay in her husband's house, or that her husband's people are poor, and thus complaining, she goes back to her natal *okka* and sits there, who is the person to be held responsible for telling her what is right and repairing the wrong, and for providing us (who have gone to fetch her), for our return journey, with servants for company and torches to light our way?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I belong to Appachettolanda *okka*, and I am the family friend of Nuchchimaneyanda *okka*.'

[245] [1] *Chundekka* is a tiny fruit growing on a bushy plant used for hedging. It is a vegetable, and in the above context it means a thing of small value, or a contemptible thing.

[2] *Birān* is a corruption of *varaha*, an ancient Indian coin worth about Rs 3-8-0.

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Groom's Family Friend: 'Are you the traditional family friend, or have you been hired with gold for the present occasion?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Both.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.' He pays a *paṇa* to the bride's family friend.

Bride's Family Friend: 'If our young girl comes upon some misfortune, who is the family friend to be held responsible for sending her to her natal *okka* with servants for company and torches for the road?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

He pays a *paṇa* to the groom's family friend.

The ritual of *sammanda* is now over.

V

The transfer of pebbles is an essential part of *sammanda*. According to an old saying, 'the weight of a person in gold is twelve pieces' (*ponnu tūka manushya pannaraṇḍachchi*). The totality of rights which a person has in the *okka* of which he is a member is represented by twelve pebbles referred to as 'pieces of gold'. At marriage the bride's family friend gives eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend as most of the rights which the bride had in her natal *okka* have been given up and acquired in the groom's *okka* instead. One pebble is retained because the bride's connexion with her natal *okka* is too deep and fundamental to be totally destroyed. In fact, if the bride happens to be divorced later, she has a right to return to her natal home. As the old saying has it, 'when a girl falls upon evil days, she goes back to her natal home'.

Some Coorgs have taken the theory of the estimation of the value of the rights of a person in his (or her) *okka* rather literally. They argue that each 'piece of gold' represents the traditional estimate of the price of a part of the ancestral property and at the marriage of a virgin the bride's relatives buy up her rights in her natal *okka* and pay her the price. The bride buys herself membership of the groom's *okka* with the money she has acquired.

Pieces of gold do not seem to have been used in the past instead of pebbles. The use of pebbles is clearly symbolic and it enables the persons concerned to understand the legal implications of marriage.

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The groom's family friend who receives the eleven pebbles hands them over to the matron of honour who ties them up in a bundle. She ties the bundle to the frontal breast-knot (*molékaṭ*) of the bride. Just before the bride leaves for the groom's house this bundle is put into the box containing the bride's trousseau.

Nowadays it is not usual for the pebbles to be kept for any length of time. Neither do Coorgs regard these pebbles as sacred. But elderly informants consider that the pebbles *ought* to be kept in the groom's house and returned in the event of divorce or widowhood.

When a woman is returning to her natal *okka* on being divorced, or when a widow is returning to her natal *okka* preparatory to marrying someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, the divorcée's or widow's connexion with her conjugal *okka* is ritually severed. This is referred to as 'giving up the pebbles' (*kallumbara kaipa*).[1] The bride's family friend and groom's family friend break the connexion in set formulas which are the same as those used in marriage but for certain necessary alterations.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at the 'marriage of a virgin', the emphasis is on the fact of the bride obtaining rights in the groom's *okka*, and not on her losing her rights in her natal *okka*. When a widow or divorcée is returning to her natal *okka*, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs her connexion with her conjugal *okka*. In both cases, however, the loss of membership of an *okka* is accompanied by gaining membership of another. The difference in emphasis however leads to the one being described as the 'conferring of *sammanda*' and the other as the 'giving up of pebbles'.

Children normally belong to their father's *okka*, and they remain in their natal home even when their mother leaves her conjugal house on widowhood or divorce. Very young children, however, accompany their mother to her natal or new home, but they return to their father's house on attaining their third or fourth year.

When a divorcée (or widow who is remarrying into a different *okka* from her late husband's) is given permission to visit her children in their father's house, the eleven pebbles are not returned by the first husband's family friend to the family friend of her

[1] The same ceremony is also referred to as 'kal mara kaipa', i.e. 'giving up stone and tree'. Stone and tree are said to stand for the estate of the *okka* in question. See N. Chinnappa, op. cit., p. 508.

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848 596 627 After the dinner is over, the girl is given *sammanda* in the man's *okka*. When the members of the man's *okka* agree to give *sammanda* after the girl has given birth to a baby, both the mother and newly born child are admitted to membership.

Sometimes the agnatic relatives of the man might refuse to give *sammanda* to the woman and her children as long as both the man and woman are alive. But death of one of them might bring about a change in their attitude as the surviving spouse and children have important parts to play in the funeral ritual. If it is the woman who is dead, the giving of *sammanda* enables the corpse to be buried in the man's *okka's* burial-ground.

The members of the genitor's village who are present when *sammanda* is given should be collectively paid witness-money of a rupee.

The procedure which has been described above holds good whether the woman concerned is a spinster or a widow.

IX

596 428 585 A Coorg proverb says, 'When the cattle-shed was destined to come to an end only bull calves were born, and when the *okka* was destined to come to an end only girls were born'. As mentioned earlier, an *okka* is threatened with extinction if there are no male heirs. If, however, there is an unmarried girl in such an *okka* she is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way. In both these forms the children born of the union perpetuate the mother's natal *okka*.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at an *okka parijé* marriage, the bride's family friend definitely asks the groom's family friend whether in view of the absence of heirs in the bride's *okka* the groom is prepared to stand as 'the trunk' of the bride's *okka*.

No *sammanda* ritual is, however, necessary at a *makka parijé* marriage as the groom does not become a member of the bride's *okka*. A rite is performed which makes clear the implications of the kind of union entered into: the bride's family friend says, 'Since there is no heir in Muthamma's natal *okka*, Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka* has agreed to unite with Muthamma, and it is the

[844] dinner, barring salt and mustard. The salt and mustard are provided by the affines. The affines and members of the affines' village are invited to this dinner which is called *kūl beppa* (keeping food). After the dinner has been given, the girl's relatives take the girl to her natal home.

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responsibility of Mother Kāvēri and the ancestors of Muthamma's *okka* to see that the couple have sons, and prosper'.

It is essential to note that in a *makka parijé*[1] union the husband does not acquire any rights in the *makka parijé* wife's house, except the right to food and clothing during his stay there.

Adoption is resorted to only when there is neither an agnatic male descendant nor an unmarried girl in the *okka*. Formerly, during the time of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, the ruler's permission was necessary for an adoption, and for an *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* union. This was because these devices could be used to shut out a distant agnatic male relative. But it is certain that the local elders would have tried to prevent an adoption to defraud a distant agnatic kinsman.

Two of the three devices for ensuring the continuity of an *okka* threatened with extinction because of the lack of agnatic descendants involve the granting of membership to an outside male, while the third does not. But whether membership of the *okka* is granted or not, each of the three customary devices is enveloped in ritual and involves the gathering together of the concerned relatives, family friends, and villagers. The legal and social consequences of each device are made clear at a solemn ritual occasion held in the sacred ancestral house of the *okka* whose continuity is threatened.

X

The implications of marriage, its rights and duties, are made clear at the performance of *sammanda* ritual. Most of the rites performed subsequent to *sammanda* dramatize the transfer of the girl from her natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

To begin with, the groom goes to the bride sitting alone in the kitchen of her natal house, performs *mūrta* to her, and presents her with a purse containing coins (*chila paṇa*). The groom ties the purse to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*, but before doing so he unties the purse presented earlier by the mother. Thus the purse presented by the groom replaces the purse presented by the bride's mother. The newly created affinal bond replaces the uterine bond. In a patrilocal and patrilineal society,

[1] *Makka parijé* is not restricted to unmarried girls only. For instance, a widow might be called upon to raise up seed for her conjugal *okka* by entering into a *makka parijé* alliance.

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585 591 when a girl is married she passes from her mother to her husband. Her mother is the person for whom she has the greatest affection, and the replacement of the mother's purse by the groom's purse explains much better what happens than mere words can.

585 After performing *mūrta* to the bride, the groom helps her to get up, and walks with her to the door of the kitchen. He crosses the threshold first, and then, standing on the outer side of the threshold, he offers his right hand to the bride standing in the kitchen. The bride takes his right hand with her right hand and then crosses the threshold. This act symbolizes her exit from her natal home: the kitchen is the normal sphere of activity of a woman, and it stands for and is associated with women in the minds of ordinary people. Thus when the groom helps the bride to cross the threshold of the kitchen of her natal house, the participants are made to realize the loss occasioned to the bride's natal *okka* at marriage.

The bridal pair go in state to the groom's house. The bride salutes the sacred wall-lamp, and then sits on a sacred bench in the central hall, after which she salutes the elders in the groom's house.[1] Normally a woman may not sit on the sacred benches either in the central hall or veranda, and when an exception is made in the case of the bride it is as a recognition of the fact that she has acquired membership in the groom's *okka*.

Later, the bride goes with two married women to the cattle-shed where three new reed-baskets, filled with cow-dung, are kept. Each carries a basket to the groom's rice-fields and empties it in one of the ridged-up plots where rice is grown.

[778] Accompanied by her two companions the bride then goes to the domestic well. She worships the water in the well, and this is called *ganga pūja* or 'worship of the Ganges'. Each of the three women carries a vessel of water to the kitchen.

[462] The duties of a woman normally include carrying manure to the fields and fetching water from the domestic well. When the bride carries manure to the groom's fields and carries water into the kitchen of his house she is doing something which she will have to do every day for the rest of her life. She ritually takes up her duties in her husband's house, and frequently on ritual occasions two people accompany the subject in the tasks he or she performs. The reed-baskets are left at the field for Poleya servants of the

[1] In some parts of Coorg she also salutes the south-western pillar and the lamp in the south-western room.

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groom's *okka* to collect. The water in the well is worshipped before taking a vesselful into the kitchen. (It was seen earlier that the confined woman similarly worshipped the well before resuming her contact with it after an absence of several months.)

At night, on the same day, the bride is given a new name by the women members of the groom's *okka*. This may be the name of a dead woman of the groom's *okka*. Even when the bride is not given a totally new name, some change is effected in her old name.[1] If the bride is divorced later, or if she becomes a widow and wishes to return to her natal house, at the ceremony in which her connexion with her conjugal *okka* is severed, the family friend of her natal *okka* refers to her by the name given to her in her natal house, while the family friend of the groom's *okka* refers to her by the name given to her at marriage. Thus the giving of a new name marks a change in the bride's social personality: she loses her membership of her natal *okka* and becomes a member of the groom's *okka*.

Soon after the bride has carried water from the domestic well into the kitchen, the groom's mother gives her a cup of milk to drink, or a dish of rice and milk sweetened with sugar. In some parts of Coorg she also combs the daughter-in-law's hair on this occasion.

In the patrilocal *okka* the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is very intimate and important. One might say that in the first few years of marriage it is even more important than the husband–wife relationship. The fact of social segregation of the sexes operates against the young husband and wife spending any considerable time together before bedtime. Again, it is not thought proper for the young husband and wife to spend too much time in each other's company. Such a couple will be 'talked about'. A young man must attend to his work, must not encourage his wife to be indifferent to her share of domestic work, and must be respectful to his elders. All this means that he does not get a real chance to be with her till he retires to bed at night.

The daughter-in-law must try and please her parents-in-law: this is one of the main aims of her life. She must do her share of the

[1] *Akkamma* might be changed, for instance, into *Akkavva*. 'Amma' indicates girlhood while 'Avva' indicates womanhood. Some westernized Coorgs do not change names at marriage. The names of dead relatives are not very popular nowadays as they are considered old fashioned.

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582 [539] sweet'. In the ancient marriage song which is sung at every marriage the bride is made out to be the daughter of the groom's father's sister. An old saying tells us, '*tān banda baṭṭena marapakāga*' (one should not forget the path by which one has come): a woman is enjoined not to forget her natal *okka* from which she has come into her conjugal *okka*. One daughter at least ought to go in marriage to the natal *okka* of her mother. Such a system binds two *okkas* very closely, and the loss of a girl to an *okka* is compensated later by the return of the latter's daughter to her mother's natal *okka* in marriage. This is unlike the other variety of cross-cousin marriage in which one *okka* is perpetually recruiting girls from another *okka* without ever repaying.

582 585 The traditional preference for marriage with a cross-cousin comes out in a rite which is performed at marriage. When the groom is leading the bride out of her house after the performance of *sammanda*, he is obstructed at the main door of the bride's house by the bride's cross-cousin. The cross-cousin says that the bride belongs to him and that he will not let her go. It is only when the groom has given him a gold coin that he lets the bride go. The cross-cousin adds another gold coin to the one the groom has given him and ties the two together in a corner of the bride's *sari*. The gold coins now belong to the bride. The incident is nowadays looked upon as a joke.

606 596 The preference for cross-cousin marriage expresses itself in ritual, and there are structural reasons for such preference. Among the patrilineal castes all over India, not only is the conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law a common feature of joint family existence, the inability of the daughter-in-law to get on with her affinal kindred is frequently cited as the chief reason for fission in the joint family. The Kannaḍa peasants of Mysore have [539] a proverb, 'A thousand moustaches can live together, but not four breasts'.

The daughter-in-law is a stranger to the groom's kin-group and her interests frequently do not harmonize with the interests of the groom's kin-group. The latter want the joint family to remain united, and the bride obedient to her mother-in-law, and able to get on with her husband's brother's wives and the husband's sisters. The bride finds such an existence irksome, and she would like her husband to leave his joint family and found a separate household. Her kin-group are usually behind her in this, either

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sister's son. His importance is stressed in ritual and in the exchange of gifts.

A man whose maternal uncle is alive may not eat curry made of bitter oranges or green plantains. A proverb tells us that a diver for pearls must make certain that his maternal uncle is holding the rope above. Diving for pearls is a notoriously hazardous occupation and the life of the diver is in the hands of the man who is holding the rope above. It requires the greatest vigilance on the latter's part. It is significant that the maternal uncle should be chosen for this task. It is a tribute to the strength of bond between a man and his mother's brother.

The maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and the married sister are all required to bring gifts, provisions, and sheets of cloth called *kēṭāmé* at the marriage of a man. An informant told me that he remembered his mother carrying twenty head-loads of *kēṭāmé* gifts to her younger brother's wedding.

A party bringing *kēṭāmé* gifts is honoured with 'plantain hénour' (*bāḷé birudu*): the leader of the party is asked to cut with his Coorg sword a row of three stout plantain stems fixed to the ground. A man who cuts through a stem at one stroke is a skilled swordsman: the blow must fall at an acute angle and must be delivered with firmness and strength.

The bringers of *kēṭāmé* gifts are given in return token gifts of cooked pork and sweet dishes. The host's band accompanies them a little distance when they leave.

Those relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* at wedding bring gifts of provisions and cloths called *aḍatalé* at death. They come accompanied by their band, and they are again given in return token gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes.

Just before the corpse is buried or cremated certain important relatives perform a rite of segregation called *koḍa kukkuva*, the purpose of which is to break the bond between the dead person and his (or her) relatives. The relatives who have to take part in this rite are the dead person's spouse, eldest son, and 'cross-nephew' (i.e. a man's sister's son, or a woman's brother's son). The surviving spouse takes a mud pot, the son a tender coconut, and the 'cross-nephew' a bell-metal vessel with a spout at the side (*kiṇḍi*).

The three relatives march to a pond or well in the burial-ground after the bier has been deposited near the funeral pit or pyre. They have a dip in the pond, after which the family friend or his

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a gift of red silk cloth. The funeral song, however, tells us that both 'he who took and he who gave [daughters in marriage]' (*koḍavanu koḍtavanu*) brought gifts of red silk cloths. The divergence between current usage and ancient custom can be explained by the supposition that cross-cousin marriage was widespread in the past. The custom of cross-cousin marriage leads to the overlapping of different kinds of kinship-bonds; and what was to begin with a cognatic bond becomes later an affinal bond.

When a man marries, his sister's husband acts as his 'best man' (*bōjakāra*), and when a woman marries, her brother's wife acts as her matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).[1] This no doubt gives importance to affinal kindred, but ultimately it may be looked upon as one of the numerous expressions of the solidarity prevalent between brother and sister. Again, it may also be an instance of the overlapping of several kinds of kinship-bonds, as the sister's husband or brother's wife might have been a cross-cousin before marriage.

Saméya gifts are brought by affines at death. These gifts consist of coconuts, coconut oil, puffed rice (*pori*), cooked meat, rice yellowed with turmeric, and three *kajjāyas* (a sweet dish) fried in castor oil. Mourners going behind the corpse scatter the *saméya* articles all the way from the mourning house to the burial-ground.

When a man is dead, representatives of his mother's natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*, and when a woman is dead, representatives of her natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*. *Saméya* is also prepared in the mourning house.

Saméya gifts stress the importance of the natal *okkas* of the women who have married into the mourning *okka*. They may also be regarded as giving importance to cross-cousins, as an affine is frequently also a cross-cousin.

Affines, when they are not already related to each other, are expected to be extremely formal towards each other. At marriage the groom's party are treated with extreme courtesy—warm water is offered to them to wash their hands and feet, a mat is spread for them to sit on, and puffed rice, coconut, and parched grams (*hurukulu*) are given them to eat. They are also given betel leaves and areca-nuts to chew. They come accompanied by their band. As they stand at some distance from the bride's house, a party from the bride's house goes to them carrying the articles mentioned

[1] I attended a wedding in which the *bōjakarati* was the bride's mother's sister's daughter, but I was told this was not very usual.

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already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu ariva*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

XIII

The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

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instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother–child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband–wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

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lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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marriage. On the second day the groom's relatives performed *mūrta* to the bride, and the bride's relatives to the groom; and finally the groom performed *mūrta* to the bride. The groom and bride sat in different parts of the bride's house while *mūrta* was performed for each, and when this ended the groom walked over to the bride sitting in the kitchen.

Nowadays, however, on the second day, the bride and groom are made to sit together in the central hall of the bride's house while *mūrta* is performed for each. Some Coorgs call this 'double *mūrta*'—the English word 'double' is used by them. I learn that this modification of the original Coorg custom was introduced over thirty years ago by a Coorg who occupied a high position in the government of a neighbouring province. This modification is clearly an attempt to Sanskritize a Coorg custom.

A Coorg woman whose husband is alive enjoys a higher ritual and social status than a widow. This is so among high-caste Hindus all over India, and the Coorg phenomenon may be regarded as an attenuated instance of the Sanskritic phenomenon. A Coorg woman whose husband is alive wears a necklace of black glass beads and black glass bangles, and these ornaments have become the auspicious symbols of the married state for a woman. No widow may wear them.

There is need to distinguish between a woman whose first and only husband is alive and another who after being widowed has remarried. The latter's ritual status is inferior to the former's, but it is higher than that of a widow who has not remarried.

A widow who decides not to remarry wears a uniform of a white *sari*, a white blouse, and a white scarf. None of these garments may have a coloured border.

In Sanskritic Hinduism a wife is expected to regard her husband as her deity. Widowhood is the result of evil actions performed in a previous incarnation. A widow is denied the ritual and social privileges of a married woman. She is not permitted to remarry. She is regarded as an inauspicious person.

Sanskritic Hinduism emphasizes the affinal tie in a variety of ways, but chiefly ritual. Ritual ideas tend to be all-pervasive. The worship of symbols of the married state by women, the ritual and social inferiority of the widow to the *sumangali*, coupled with the ban on widow remarriage, and the linking of widowhood to the idea of *karma*, all contribute to the strengthening of the marital

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on the image of the deity are given to a worshipper, he or she sticks them in his hair, or keeps them in his pockets. When such flowers wither, they are either put in a well or pond or on a tree. They are not thrown where people are likely to tread on them.

Quite apart from festivals and other occasions when the dishes cooked in the house are offered to the ancestors before the members themselves partake of them, there are special occasions when the ancestors have to be offered food and drink, and these occasions are the last days (*changrāndi*) of the months of Taurus and Cancer, and the tenth of Libra.

The propitiation of ancestors with food (invariably non-vegetarian) and liquor and lights is called *kāraṇava bhāraṇi*. There is also a more elaborate propitiation of ancestors called *kāraṇava téré* or *kāraṇava kōla*, at which Baṇṇas or Paṇikas officiate as priests and oracles.

This elaborate propitiation of ancestors is prevalent everywhere except Kiggaṭnāḍ. Also there is no uniform rule as to when the propitiation should be performed: each *okka* seems to follow a different rule in this matter. For instance, the Mātanḍra *okka* perform it annually in May, while the Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform it once every few years, while some other *okkas* perform it before a wedding in the house and still others perform it some time after the death of an elderly male. In the last case the object of the propitiation is to convert the spirit of the dead person into a *kāraṇava*. An old saw has it, 'The eleventh should be added to the group of ten'.

The propitiation is invariably performed at the ancestral house. The latter is whitewashed, colour-washed, and the floors washed with a solution of cow-dung. Nowadays the head of that branch of the *okka* which is resident in the ancestral house writes a letter to the heads of the branches living elsewhere, and to other relatives, informing them of the date of the propitiation. On the appointed day they all gather together at the ancestral house, bringing with them their votive offerings of fowl or pig or both. A daughter of the house who has married out might bring with her a votive animal to a *kāraṇava* of her natal *okka*.

The propitiation begins after sundown. Everyone takes a bath, and the head of the house dresses himself in a waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth. If he is very pious he even observes a fast.

The Baṇṇas perform the propitiatory ritual in the central hall of the ancestral house. One of the Baṇṇas acts as oracle (*tiruvaḷkāra*

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TABLE OF *SAMMANDA* RIGHTS

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Serial No.	*Occasion*	*Subject of the rights*	*Where the subject had rights originally*	*Where now given*	*Remarks*
1.	The marriage of a virgin (*kanni mangala*).	Bride.	In her natal *okka*.	In the grooms' *okka*.	
2.	*The marriage of a widow:*				
	(*a*) To her dead husband's brother.	..	..	..	No rights are given as the widow already has rights in her new husband's *okka*. The recent tendency to give her rights anew in her new husband's *okka* shows that the elementary family is becoming more important among Coorgs.
	(*b*) When the new husband belongs to a different *okka* from her dead husband's.	Widow-bride.	In her dead husband's *okka*.	In the new husband's *okka*.	The widow's connexion with her dead husband's *okka* is first of all severed and this restores her to her natal *okka*. At her remarriage she is given rights in the new husband's *okka*.
3.	Divorce	Divorcée.			Her connexion with her husband's *okka* is severed and she then reverts to her natal *okka*.
4.	*Kold adanga sammanda muripa*: when, in exceptional circumstances, it is intended to give the children of the widow or divorcée membership of	Widow or divorcée's children.	In their father's *okka*.	In their mother's *okka*.	Children normally are members of their father's *okka*, and only under exceptional circumstances are they transferred to

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I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organized society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit.

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

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614 587 first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a 614 586 permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvës of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission [585] to her original sib. The aruvë of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case [764] of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried [851] in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

613 Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage. 2/1.

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

7/1 [see cat. 116, pp. 142–144 -- Analyst] 2/1 [see p. 129]

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It follows from the two rules that have been stated that the marriage of cross-cousins is permissible. Such marriages occur, probably with about the same frequency in all classes of Coorg society, poor and well-to-do, rural and urban. My informant gave it as his impression that it was frequently considered that cross-cousin marriages were more suitable than others as creating new bonds of intimacy and friendship between the families concerned. He was emphatic that property considerations have no part in determining the frequency of such marriages; the bride brings with her merely a trousseau, and no other property is involved. Cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety; no tendency can be seen towards asymmetry. While the linguistic terms for cross-cousins cover, beside the children of brothers and sisters, also such more distant relations as the children of a mother's parallel male cousins or of a father's parallel female cousins, my informant in referring to cross-cousin marriages generally meant marriages between people of the closest relation. In the incident discussed in the following paragraph, the male cross-cousin who takes a part is if possible the son of the bride's father's sister or of her mother's brother.

That cross-cousin marriages were anciently the preferable and possibly the universal type is to be inferred from an incident that takes place at weddings. It may be described here fully rather than in its appropriate place below. When the bridegroom is about to lead his bride from her family's house after the wedding ceremony, he may be stopped before he crosses the threshold by a male cross-cousin of the bride's who refuses to let her leave the house until he has been given a present by the bridegroom. The cross-cousin may be of any age, even a child in arms, and the incident is now looked upon as a piece of festive sport. But it is significant that he says (not however in any set formula) that the girl belongs to him and he will not let her leave. The present given varies in accordance with the means of the parties, but usually takes the form of a rupee or a gold sovereign. It may be kept by the cross-cousin or may be tied by him in the bride's sari as a present to her. The latter seems to be usually the case.

While the evidence of kinship terminology might be invoked to support our conclusions in the matter of cross-cousin marriage and would fully support them, it seems to be unnecessary to bring this forward since the material facts already adduced provide sufficient evidence. It seems unwise moreover to base a great deal on the evidence given by kinship terminologies in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India. They are practically identical in all the languages of the area, and the same terminologies are used by such ethnologically diverse communities as the mother-sibs of the Malabar coast, the father-sibs of most of the rest of the area in question, the Coorgs and the Todas who practise symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and communities

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584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [114] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's [342] party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [778] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [595] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

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[1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called mannaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

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are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement.

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kaṇiē), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies.

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow.

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rtā are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles'

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wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

[1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mamme, whether they are blood-relations (i.e., cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

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with both hands then a little is sprinkled on the seated person successively at the joints of knees, elbows and shoulders, and finally on the head. Then she takes a small brass vessel (called kundi) with a long spout, which is filled with milk, puts the spout through the open front of the veil to the mouth of the person, who drinks a little. Then she puts some money contained in a small bag into the hand of the person, and nowadays at least sprinkles rice into his lap, though this is unnecessary. The groom or bride then bends forward and three times touches the feet of the mother, after each touch putting the joined hands to his or her forehead. During this salutation the mother puts both hands on the child's head in blessing and ends by joining her hands and bringing them to her forehead. The mother is followed by all female relatives in some approach to an order by seniority and by the female guests in turn, and each goes through the same ceremony, the only difference being that gifts are presented without being enclosed in a bag. Widows are not debarred from performing the ceremony. If the female is younger than the bride or groom, the salutation made by touching the feet is performed by the guest and not by the bride or groom. After the women have finished, the men do the same thing, the first being the father, or if he is dead, the eldest male member of the sib, followed by the other male members of the sib in some approach to order by seniority and by other relatives and the male guests. The bride or groom is then conducted from the nellaki or from outside the house to his or her own room, and all the relatives and guests proceed to feast, first the men, then the women, and finally the servants of the house (who belong to the Holeya [poleyĕ] caste).

After the feast the guests are dismissed with the usual salutations (generally an abbreviated form of the salutation described above). Somewhat more formality attends the departure of the male members of the sib to which the mother of the bride or groom respectively originally belonged. They are conducted with music to the small pasture near the house and are seated there on mats. They are given betel and such light refreshments as sweets. Then a Coorg sword (odikati) is offered to the eldest member of this sib with an invitation to cut down three plantain stems that have been fixed in the earth. Since each stem is nearly a foot thick and cutting each across with one slanting blow is a matter of strength and knack, he usually hands the sword to some younger member of his party who cuts them. It is said to be mark of respect to offer the sword, and likewise a matter of honour to cut the stems cleanly. At present the whole affair is treated rather jestingly and it is said that foreign bodies are inserted into the stems to make the stroke a more difficult matter. The sword is a weighty and well-balanced weapon and those stems that I have seen after they were cut had been neatly and accurately severed with one blow.

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585 After this ceremony of dismissal the guests generally nowadays
[574] return to the house for further conviviality.

The bridegroom spends such part of the night as may be necessary in travelling to the bride's house so that he may arrive about four or five o'clock in the morning. All the time
[777] previously he has spent in his own room and has not removed any article of his dress (it is said to bring bad luck if he or the bride takes off a single article of clothing or ornament until the two of them are together in his room on the following night). The bride meanwhile has got what sleep she can in her room in
[614] her own house. The bridegroom is accompanied by his aruvō and a party of his sib-members, including females. His mother and father stay at home to await the arrival of him and the bride. One of the girls or women of the party carries a basketry box (po:lia) filled completely with an odd number of measures of rice, an odd number of coconuts, some plantains, jaggery, betel-leaf and arecanut, and a kundi of milk such as was used at the ceremonies of the previous day. This she is supposed to carry all the distance, but the requirement is fulfilled if she carries it out of her house and then hands it to a servant or a male of the party, who again hands it to her when the bride's house is reached. She then hands it to a girl or woman of the bride's house who carries it inside. The pot of milk is used in the following joint-ceremony by the bridegroom's sib-members in feeding the bride. The other articles seem to have no part in the ceremony but are left at the bride's house. When the bride finally goes to her husband's house after her visit to her own home, she brings with her the box filled with eatables.

When the groom's party reaches the bride's house they are met by the bride's party and salutations are exchanged. They go to the pasture near the house and six plantain stems are cut through by the bridegroom or a member of his party in the same manner as three were cut at each house in the dismissal of the members of the bride's and groom's mother's sibs.[1] Then the

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[1] This cutting of plantain stems by the bridegroom's party has been conjectured to be a vestigial trace of marriage by capture. It seems highly doubtful however whether this can be the case. If only the bridegroom's party cut stems on arriving at the bride's house and the bride's on arriving at the bridegroom's house, we might consider that we had symbols of the bride's abduction and an attempt at rescue by her relatives. It will be noticed however that during the course of the wedding ceremonies there are altogether four occasions when plantain stems are cut. The bridegroom or some member of his party cuts six, some member of the bride's party cuts six, and the other two sibs most nearly interested, those of the groom's and bride's mothers, each cut three, the eldest male member being the person to whom the sword is offered. Considering that the Coorg marriage system was originally in all probability one of cross-cousin marriages, we may work out the complicated possibilities and it will be found that the present details as to who cuts the plantain stems and at which house they are cut, lend no support to a theory that Coorg marriage was originally one of capture. We may conjecture of course that

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parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly.

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na

these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81.

[1] aggō is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē.

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585 614 537 ku:ḍu kuṭumba sa:lu beci nindi:ra:. 'People of the district in two parties and relatives in two parties and aruvés, people of the lineages and blood relations, the assembly and the sibs, have you formed lines and stood?'

A member of the bridegroom's party answers: nindi:tu 'they have stood'.

Speaker of bride's party: a:naka ko:daṇḍ(a) okaḍa taṇgammĕ: nd(u) ĕṇṇuvĕ kannina ku:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa ka:|apĕ: nd(u) ĕṇṇuvĕ baymbĕṇgu tandu: bendu: parandītu tapa kovva: nd(u) a:yītu na:|u mu:rta no:ṭitu inde:kĕtu dinatulu maṇgula kuricitu indu maṇgul(a) a:ḍi bandalli taṇgammĕ: nd(u) ĕṇṇuvĕ kannina ka:|apĕ: nd(u) ĕṇṇuvĕ baymbĕṇgu sammanda koḍukanalla.

'If so, in the matter of the girl called Taṇgammĕ of the Ko:daṇḍa sib and the man called Ka:|apĕ of the Ku:tiaṇḍa sib, having made an offer of marriage and relationship, having agreed saying that they would give and they would receive, having looked for an auspicious day and moment, and eight days before today having formally arranged the marriage, now today when the marriage procession has come, let us give the girl called Taṇgammĕ to the man called Ka:|apĕ, giving her rights in his sib (sammanda).'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍuka.
'Let us give.'

Speaker of bride's party: a:ce:ṇgi ku:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa kĕ:ku nindĕ gurumane na:lu kĕ:t(u) aramane ni:ru balipĕ kaṇatare nu:ra:yira batṭi[1] bu:mi nu:ru kaṇḍa[2] ba:ṇe upĕ|a ne:ṇgi noga taye tami allate bu:mir(a) a:ka e:ka e:kaḍ(a) e:ri kuṇḍitere ku:ḍa sammanda koḍutira:.

'If so, of the Ku:tiaṇḍa sib, the ancestors' shrine[3] which stands to the east (of the dwelling-house), the palace (=house) with its four buildings (round the central court), the well where they draw water, the arable land of 100,000 measures, the pasture land of 100 pieces, the plough with which they plough, the yoke, the harrow, the yoke-rope, and besides that, of the arable land the large paddy-field, the paddy-nursery, the banks of the paddy-nursery, the manure-pit, all did you give her as her rights in the sib?'

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[1] More usually a:yira baṭi '1000 measures'.
[2] More usually patu kaṇḍa '10 pieces'.
[3] Usually in ordinary speech called kaymaḍa; each original sib-house (aynumane) has such a shrine of its ancestors, supposedly on the site where the first ancestor was buried and frequently enough actually containing a tomb.

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Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍutatu.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: okuvē kaḷa kaḷatuḷu bo:ṭi cita:ril(u) aki kommel(u) upu tuyyatu maḷu karavatu puḷi kalatuḷu pa:ra bindigel(u) ēnṇe barasuḷu ney allate kaḍacekallu ammikallu bi:juvē kallu meypē](a) oḷake cavṭuvē ra:ṭe bakatu guḍḍa ka:cuvē gaññi ko:tuvē cembu katuvē puḷḷi kuḷipēḷa pa:re atakoṭu kaḍucikoṭu meypē koṭu puḷḷikoṭu ku:ḍa sammanda koḍutira:.

'The floor where they thresh, the post on the threshing-floor (round which the cattle go in treading the grain), the rice in the storehouse, the salt in the basket, the chillies in the big store-basket, the vinegar in the pot, the chutney in the pot, the oil in the large vessel, the ghee in the pot, and besides that, the stone mortar and pestle, the roller grinding-stone, the stones with which they grind, the wooden pestle with which they pound paddy, the pounder which they tread, the bath-house in the lane, the boiler which they heat, the pot with which they dip, the fuel which burns, the tiled floor where they bathe, the cattle-shed, the calf-shed, the shed where they pound paddy, the fuel-shed, all did you give as her rights in the sib!'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍutatu.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: e:lato:ṭa ka:pito:ṭa puḷito:ṭa ba:ḷeto:ṭa toṇguto:ṭa iñjito:ṭa mañjato:ṭa pañjeto:ṭa ku:ḍa sammanda koḍutira:.

'The cardamom-plantation, the coffee-plantation, the orange-plantation, the plantain-plantation, the coconut-plantation, the ginger-plantation, the turmeric-plantation, the vegetable-garden, all did you give as her rights in the sib!'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍutatu.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: nē:ti ketuvē matu bi:di ketuvē kati maggaḷapē guddali ouki po:nē co:mē madici po:nē po:ri patukuḍi a:ḷu paytakēttu patu karapa paymbaṭi nellu nell(u) aḷapē pa:ni koci aḷapē se:ru aki aḷapē ma:na ne:leḷu to:ku mu:leḷu ba:ḷu a:ṇiḷu kati ta:kunē taḷia tu:kunē boḷica cu:ḍuk(u) irumbu cuḍeku modalu onḍutoṭu mu:ro:ḷa sammanda koḍutadallate ku:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa kaṭuḷ(u) ajjē toṭuḷu kuññi olekēṭ(u) ajji se:laḍaṇga ba:laḍaṇga sammanda koḍutira:.

'The axe with which lifting they cut, the knife with which waving they cut, the hoe with which they dig earth, the bullock which became restive and strayed, the male buffalo which lusted after the female and strayed, the servants in ten families,

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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585 614 539 the ten pairs of bullocks, the ten milch cows, the ten measures of paddy, the two-seer measure with which they measure paddy, the one-seer measure with which they measure the servants' wages, the half-seer measure with which they measure rice, the gun in the hanging slings, the long sword in the corner, the sword on the nail, the plate which they leaned against the wall, the lamp which they hung, the iron for making needles, among the articles even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, not only giving as her rights in the sib, but also of the Kuːtiaṇḍa sib, the old man on the bed, the child in the cradle, the old woman at the hearth, the family line complete, did you give her relationship with these?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatɯ.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia maka niṇgaḍa maneku baːlɯ baːke bandalli niṇgaḍ(a) okaḍa niːrɯ nɛ̈latwlɯ iñji mañja naṭitɯ koːli pandi caːkitɯ ɯːlembaːle maːritɯ nɛ̈ːḍunɛ̈ paṇatwna cepːɯl(ɯ) ɯṭɯ becaːna naːle piniandɯ niṇgaḍa kuññia mak(a) ɛ̈ḍwtit (ɯ) allaaalla: nd(ɯ) ɛ̈ṇṇwceːṇgi iḍwṇgm javabdaːrɛ̈n aːnantɛ̈ aṇgɛ̈naruvɛ̈ daːrɯ.

'When our child has come to your house to rule it and in marriage, the money which she has earned, by planting with water and in shade ginger and turmeric, by rearing fowls and pigs, by selling (the fruit of) creepers and plantains, and has kept in a box, if on some day later your children have taken that money and have said: "We did not take it (lit. it is not so)," who is the aruvɛ̈ who becomes the person responsible for this?'

The aruvɛ̈ of the groom's sib: naːnɯ.
'I.'
Speaker of the bride's party: niṇgaḍ(a) okapeda ennɯ.
'What is your sib-name?'
Aruvɛ̈: tambaːṇda.
Speaker of bride's party: aːlɯpeda ennɯ.
'What is your personal name?'
Aruvɛ̈: mutaṇṇɛ̈.
Speaker of bride's party: maṇṇaruvɛ̈naː ponnaruvɛ̈naː.
'Are you the aruvɛ̈ of the traditional sib or a temporary aruvɛ̈?'
Aruvɛ̈: maṇṇaruvɛ̈nuː aku ponnaruvɛ̈nuː aku.
'I am both.'
Speaker of bride's party: okaperiavɛ̈ᵃnaː aːlɯperiavɛ̈ᵃnaː

'Are you the oldest member of the oldest generation of your sib or the oldest member of the sib regardless of generations?' It is the latter who is the koroːkaːrɛ̈ or headman of the sib, though of course the oldest member of the sib is usually also the oldest member of the oldest generation. This question, like the

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previous one, is asked to establish the aruvē's claim to speak for his sib. It does not necessarily follow however that the aruvē is the permanent koro:ka:rē of the sib; on such occasions as this, the oldest member of the sib who is present at the ceremony ranks as koro:ka:rē for the time being.

Aruvē: okaperiavē^{n}nu: aku a:ḷuperiavē^{n}nu: aku.
'I am both.'

Speaker of bride's party: idari panneraṇḍacira ponnu. ē:ra uṇḍe:ŋgi tarālu. kammi uṇḍe:ŋgi kē:ṭavalu.

'Here! take 12 gold coins. If there are too many, you may give us (those in excess). If there are too few, you may ask (for enough to make up the deficiency).' With these words he hands to the aruvē eleven pebbles, which represent the 'gold coins'; their significance has been discussed above.

The aruvē after counting says: pannandacira ponne: uḷḷē.
'It is just eleven gold coins.'

Speaker of bride's party: oracira ponnu illi haku stha:paneku becaṇḍi:tu.

'One gold coin we have kept here with us to retain her rights in her own sib.'[1]

Speaker of bridegroom's party: inda:kaṇeku i: taŋgammē: nd(u) ēnnuvē kanni niŋgaḍa taŋge maka. indutoṭu me:vara ku:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ḷapē: nd(u) ēnnuvē baymbēṇḍa pommaka maka. annane ba:ḷike bandē poṇṇu mane ca:yille: ndu: añci uṭitille: ndu: paṭi ja:ruva: ndu: koṭu to:ruva: ndu: o:nilu kete: ndu: ca:ṇaku kayya: ndu: ni:ruku du:ra: ndu: ma:vē^{n}ṇḍa ba:yiguṇa po:ra: ndu: ma:vi^{n}ra kayguṇa po:ra:ndu: oḍeyēṇḍa mayguṇa po:ra: ndu: maciṇicira managuṇa po:ra: ndu: ku:ḷu kuycatu: ndu: kari kaycatu: ndu: na:yi kaḍicatu: ndu: pu:ṇe ma:nduci: ndu: ētu kutuci: ndu: payyu cavṭuci: ndu: kokaci ketuci: ndu: ba:kemane buṭitu ta:manek(u) o:ḍi oḷici po:yitu aḷatitu ba:manena paḷandaṇḍu ta:manena tuḍicaṇḍu aḷataka fia:ya^{n} paranditu tiddi ni:kitu baṭeku tu:ḍu: ku:ṭuk(u) a:ḷu: koḍutitu ayci tapantē aggēnaruvē da:ru.

'Until today this girl called Taŋgammē has been your younger sister and child. From today onwards she is the wife of the man called Ka:ḷapē of the Ku:tiaṇḍa sib. If the woman who thus came in marriage says: 'The house is not good,' or 'They have not tiled it,' or 'The yard is slippery,' or 'The shed leaks,'

[1] My informants seemed somewhat uncertain as to the fate of these pebbles. It seems that they should be tied into the hem of the bride's sari before she is led out of the house. Certainly no great importance is attached to them in themselves and they are not kept for any length of time.

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585 614 539 or 'The lane is full of mire,' or 'It is impossible to carry dung (to the paddy-field),' or 'It is too far to go for water,' or 'My father-in-law's words are not good (lit. the qualities of his mouth are not enough),' or 'My mother-in-law is niggardly in giving supplies (lit. the qualities of her hand are not enough),' or 'My husband is impotent (or, neglects me sexually, lit. the qualities of his body are not enough),' or 'My younger sister-in-law is not affectionate (lit. the qualities of her mind are not enough),' or 'The rice was too hot,' or 'The curry was bitter,' or 'The dog bit me,' or 'The cat scratched me,' or 'The bullock gored me,' or 'The cow kicked me,' or 'The she-buffalo gored me,' if saying such things she leaves the house into which she married and going running and hiding to her father's house she sits there and stays speaking ill of her husband's house and praising her father's house, who is the aruvē who having talked it over and settled it will give her a torch for the path and a servant to accompany her and will send her back!'

The aruvē of the bride's sib: na:nu.
'I.'

He is identified in a dialogue verbally the same as that which identified the other aruvē, the differences being only in his sib and personal names, which were given in this case as karo:ṭira and ma:dapē respectively. After he answers: okaperiavē"nu: aku a:ḷuperiavē"nu: aku, the speaker on the bridegroom's side says: idari takuku tapatē sa:kṣipaṇa. 'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise.' Three annas (=paṇa) are given to him.

The speaker of the bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia makaku nu:ru bira:ṇḍa poṭi aññu:ru bira:ṇḍa poḍea tuni a:yira bira:ṇḍa pa:vu padi:ca o:lē ma:le same:ṭa i: okaḍa nellakilu ēṇṇa baṇṇa no:ṭitu maṇgwi(a) a:ḷi po:nalli a: okaḍa nellakilu ēṇṇa baṇṇa no:ṭuvaka baṭelu: baylu: ka:nate kē:ḷate po:ce:ṇgi idwṇgu javabda:rēn a:nantē aṇgēnaruvē niṇga|annea:.

[583] 'Belonging to our child, the box worth 100 pagoda-coins (the pagoda=4 rupees), the saris and clothes worth 500 pagoda-coins, the jewels worth 1000 pagoda-coins, including ear-ornaments and necklaces, having checked over their number and size in the nellaki of this sib, they will go in the marriage procession. After they have gone, when in the nellaki of that sib they check over their number and size, if on the path any has been lost unseen and unheard, is it just you that is the aruvē who is the man responsible for this?'

The aruvē of the bridegroom's sib: na: nanne:.
'Just I.'

Speaker of the bride's party: idari oke teraṇgatē be:li e:ri teraṇgatē kallu annane takuku tapatē sa:kṣipaṇa.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise, (being immovable) as the fence over which the jungle does not encroach and the boundary-stone beyond which the walls of the paddy-nursery are not shifted.' With these words he gives three annas to the aruvē.

After the bride has thus been made a member of her husband's sib, he goes to the kitchen and without entering it takes her hand and brings her out. After this, her mother removes the cloth which he has up to this time worn on his head and puts it on his shoulders; he may leave it there or remove it entirely after this. He and his party with the bride and some members of her party then start for his house. As he is bringing her out of the house, the incident with her male cross-cousin takes place as has been described above. When they have arrived at the house of his sib, formal salutations take place, noteworthy among them those of the bride to her parents-in-law, and some member of the bride's party cuts six plantain stems. The bride is led into her husband's room and remains there except for the water-carrying ceremony. Everyone receives betel and light refreshments. Then the bride removes her veil and is led out to the well with music and accompanied by all the people. She breaks a cocoanut and pours the juice into the well, and then carries on her head a pot of water from the well to the house. Formerly according to tradition and the wedding song, she also carried a load of dung to the paddy-field. These are her first household duties in her new sib. She is led back to her husband's room and replaces her veil. Then all have the midday meal and the bride's party are led with ceremony as far as the pasture near the house and are dismissed. After this, songs are sung by Coorg singers and in them the bride is given her new personal name. This may be one quite different from her old one, if as has been said above, it is desired to perpetuate some name in the house or if the bride's name is the same as that of some woman already in the family and confusion might result. Or, her name as an unmarried girl may be kept with the change only of -ammē or -akē, the terminations of the names of unmarried girls, to -avvē, the termination of the names of married women, as happened in the case of the woman whose name is given in the text above; Taṅgammē became Taṅgavvē.

The bridegroom is brought to the nellaki by his best man, throws rice to the lamp and salutes all the members of his sib who are present. He is then led to his room, where the bride has been all the time except when led out to carry water. He now removes her veil, and the marriage is consummated on this night. On the following morning the villagers return, are fed at midday and formally dismissed. After some days, a variable number but usually the next day, the bride returns without her husband to her father's house. No ceremonies take place. Richter's statement that the bride is treated as a polluted woman

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585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after child-birth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment
614 to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
796 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony (called kaikupara kaypé 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvés of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvé of the woman's sib
[534] says: daṇḍu kaḍe nam̐ommuḷḷavé nu:bendu: aggénaruvéṇu: nam̐u hāṇi nindiva:.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are:

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins.

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans.

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

585 574 292 [301] [405] gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians. Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father, together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 [782] [354] In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada, carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors. On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings because they are unlucky.

585 [576] [589] [777]

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion. Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

[674] [533]

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

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within the gate, men hold upright the stems of a plantain tree with the leaves on them. A large broad Coorg war-knife is put into his hand, and he has to cut through a plantain stem with one blow. Three chances are allowed to him. It is clear that the possession of physical strength has always been regarded as an essential requisite in a suitor, and the survival of this custom is a safeguard against the premature marriage of children which prevails elsewhere. The bride's party come to meet them there and some of their servants bring chairs and mats along with refreshments. Both parties with the united efforts of the musicians advance to the house. The bridegroom is received by his parents-in-law. After the customary salutations, refreshments of panauperi are freely sent round. Then a meal is served and enjoyed with liberal potations. The bride is conducted by her maids over an outspread cloth into the bridal chamber, where she is seated on a low stool. The bridegroom's party approach her and repeat the ceremony of rice throwing which was performed at noon by the bride's relations. At last the bridegroom who is seated on a low stool all along is conducted to the bridal chamber, and is seated by the right side of the bride who with bent heads sits veiled all over. Soon he rises and strews rice over her and gives her some milk to sip, but speaks nothing. He then presents her with a small bag containing a silver or gold ring, a gold coin for her pattakku or necklace, and some silver coins. Then both eat together for the first time, being served by some women of the household. After this wedding meal the young couple have the exchange of looks and words. The bridegroom grasps her hand and leads her out of the house, and this act of possession constitutes the essential part of the ceremony. He then returns home with his wife accompanied by his party. If the house is distant, the young wife with her maids are conveyed to a bullock cart. If it is nearer, she is conducted by her two best friends. The mother of the bridegroom or the mistress of the house welcomes and conducts her to her own room and gives her refreshments. The guests are treated to a feast after which they take leave of the host. Aruva and ten married Coorgs of their nearest kin remain behind. The members of the family along with them assemble round the sacred lamp, when the Aruva gives some homely advice about the duties and privileges of a married Coorg. Hearing this, the bridegroom grasps her right hand and goes with her towards the door, but as he steps outside, she remains within. Her relations now form two rows in front of the door, and the Aruva of the bride tells the Aruva of the bridegroom, "You have desired Puraka from us Mandanna. We have given her, and now ask you, "Has she any claim on Mandanna's property, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver, if she becomes his wife?" The bridegroom's Aruva says, "Puraka has a lawful claim on Mandanna's property." This is repeated thrice, and as a typical pledge of possession, like the 'patti jamma fee' on the investment with land, the bridegroom's Aruva hands over to that of the bride's family

585 ● [411] [581] [535]

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585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room [551] of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, [583] she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time [586] without being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the [643] Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

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CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed.

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :—

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day.

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The present marriage rites of Coorg, especially in Kiggatnádu, where bride and bridegroom are welcomed together by the relatives and fellow-villagers of both parties, and sit together on the wedding-chair, closely resemble the common fashion of the Hindus, though they have not yet conformed altogether. 585 [191]

Young persons under sixteen years of age are not married in Coorg. Exceptions from this wholesome rule are very rare. It is to be hoped that the Coorgs will ever be preserved from the misery of child-marriages. 582

A young Coorg, when about to marry, has first to obtain the consent of his father or of the head of the family. This affair being settled, the Aruva of the house is taken into the marriage-council. He has to speak to the Aruva of the family, to whom the desired bride belongs. These Aruvas hold an important office among the Coorgs. They act as representatives, counsels, guardians of families and individuals on the great occasions of life. A particular friend of a neighbouring Coorg house becomes its Aruva, and a member of this house is naturally the Aruva of the other. On a certain day the Aruva of the intending bridegroom, accompained by his father or elder brother, goes to the house of the young woman, who is to be asked in marriage. They speak to the Aruva and to the head of the house. A favourable answer being returned, the whole house is carefully swept and a lamp is lit. Some families, affecting new fashions, at this time call in the astrologers to see whether the stars of the new couple will agree together or not. Where no horoscope has been taken, the astrologers, never at a loss, find the stars by the names of the parties! It is to be supposed, that the wise seers generally return acceptable answers. However, this part of the marriage-proceedings is evidently an innovation. The old fashion is to light a lamp in the newly swept house; when the two Aruvas, with the heads of the respective families, stand before 584 624 584 178 [787]

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584 [178] it, (the bridegroom's Aruva and father, or elder brother, on one side, the bride's representatives on the other) and shake hands together, in token of an inviolable contract having been concluded, in the presence of the Divinity or sacred light of the house. Such engagements are rarely, if ever, broken. After the above preliminaries the time for the wedding is agreed upon. The nuptials are often postponed half a year, sometimes for a twelve-month, but generally the Coorg weddings come off during the months of April and May, when the rice-valleys are dry, and there is little work to be done. [187] When the time approaches, the astrologer's counsel is asked for the choice of a propitious day. The relatives of the bride and the bridegroom are invited to the respective houses ten days before the wedding. Under the superintendence of the Aruvas they engage in the necessary preparations. The members of the respective families themselves are not expected to join in these labours. On the last day before the marriage all the families of the villages of the bride and bridegroom are summoned. Each house must send at least one male and one female representative. Now the wedding-sheds are finished; pigs are slaughtered and dressed; rice and vegetables are prepared. The whole company thus working together, join also in a good dinner provided for their guests by the principal parties interested. The Aruva of each house acts throughout as master of the ceremonies.

585 574 On the wedding day, at sun-rise, the two village communities, to which the bride and bridegroom belong, are in festive commotion. No house is permitted to absent itself from the general gathering. In the bridegroom's house the male guests, in the bride's house the female attendants, busy themselves with bathing, dressing and ornamenting the chief personage of the day, and in making every thing ready for a good Coorg-feast. The larger and fatter the pigs, the more abundant and strong the liquor, the greater will be the glory of

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the day. Ancient ballads are recited, extempore singers extol the names of the principal persons among the assembled relatives. Now the Muhúrta (the propitious hour) has come. At the same time both bride and bridegroom are conducted to the wedding-seat in their respective houses. The guests put themselves in order. One after the other approaches the bridegroom or the bride, strews some grains of rice upon his or her head, lifts a brass-vessel filled with milk from the ground, and pours some drops into his or her mouth, puts a piece of money, not less than three annas into his or her hand, and passes on. When the Muhúrta is over, the bridegroom or the bride retires into another room, where they continue to sit, sometimes for hours, until the last of the guests has come, and offered his salutation and gifts. At the end of the Muhúrta the wedding company apply themselves to the dinner prepared for them. The joy of the feast is heightened by the songs of the Coorg-bards, who sing of the glories of the relatives of the house, of the families belonging to the village community, and repeat the Palmé's (ancient songs) which they have learned from their fathers. I cannot refrain from entering here the humorous wedding-song translated by Mr. A. Graeter from the Coorg original:—

Wedding Song.

God Almighty, live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God.
Rule as Sovereign, O King!
On the surface of the earth
Coorg is like a string of pearls,
Though one of the smallest kingdoms.
In this land they count 12 valleys,
And the Nádu are 85;
But in our Nád for ever,
Like a flow'r of paradise,
Blooms the name of Apparandra.

In this Apparandra house
Lived a man of reputation,
Mandanna the mighty hero;
When he offered a petition
To the ruler of the country
For a goodly jumma land,
He received it as a present.
For his money he now bought
Holeyas to be his servants,
And they laboured on his farm.
Bullocks too, his fields to plough,

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He procured for heavy money,
And completed all his labours.
When he now lived comfortably,
Mandanna the mighty hero,
In his mind was meditating
And within himself he pondered
Constantly this one idea:
"I have rice and costly garments,
But no one to dress and nourish;
I have precious stones and jewels,
But where is the wife to wear them?
In a household without children
Vain is all our toil and trouble;
No! there is not here on earth
Without wife bliss or enjoyment.
If a tank is without water,
Has it not been dug in vain?
And a garden without flowers,
Has it not in vain been planted?
Who would like to eat cold rice,
Void of curds and void of salt?
Sons must be in our houses,
And our rooms be full of children."
So he thought within himself,
And, one lovely Sunday morning,
When the silvery dew was sparkling,
Took a meal, and dressed himself,
Joined his hands in adoration
To the ancestors and God;
Sent a man to call his Ar'wa
To conduct him on the journey,
Took his stick adorned with silver,
And then started with his friend.
Where between the woody mountains
Thrones the lofty Kottamalé,
Wand'ring through the hilly country,
He went off to seek a wife,
Till his soles were off with walking;
Pond'ring sat in all the Mandas,
Till his dress was torn by sitting;
Wandered in the scorching sun,
Till his head was hot and giddy;
Wandered till the walking stick
In his hand was growing shorter.
Mandanna the mighty hero
Sought a wife in ev'ry quarter,
But no house would suit his mind.
If he found the house was right,
Then the servants would not suit him;
If he found the servants right,
Then he did not like the cattle;
If he found the cattle right,
Then the fields were miserable;
If the paddy land was good,
Then the pasture ground was bad;
And if all these things were good,
Then the maiden did not please him.
While he thus was sorely troubled,
News arrival of consolation:—
In the Haikandi there lived,
In the Pattamida house,
Chinnawwa, a lovely maiden.—
When he heard this information,
Mandanna, the mighty hero,
Slowly with his friend proceeded
To the house, and there sat down
On the bench of the verandah.
Chinnawwa, the lovely maiden,
When she heard of their arrival,
Came and brought a jar of water,
Poured it in a silver pitcher,
Placed it on a glittering mat,
Spread another mat for him
In the seat of the verandah.
Pattamida Chinnawwa
Modestly stood on the threshold,
And she asked him: "Why, my friend,
Did you not take any water,

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Use it and then call for more?"
So she asked, and he replied:
"Certainly I will, my dearest,
"If for ever you will bring me
"Water as to-day you brought it."
She replied: "You get the water
"If you come here ev'ry day."
Mandanna now took the water,
Washed his face and hands and feet,
Thought: I'll come for more tomorrow.
Mandanna, the wise and clever,
Took again the seat of honor
And began: "My pretty maiden,
"Tell me now, where is your father?"
She replied: "My father went
"To a meeting in the Mandu."
"And where is your mother then?"
"She went to the potters' village,
"Where they celebrate a wedding."
"And where is your brother then?"
"He went down the Ghat to Kote
"With his bullocks, to get salt." —
When an hour or two were spent,
To his house returned the father.
Mandanna made his obeisance,
Bowed, and touched the old man's feet.
When an hour or two were spent,
To her house returned the mother.
Mandanna again saluted.
When an hour or two were spent,
To his house returned the brother.
Mandanna made his obeisance.
Then they had some conversation,
Talked about their friends and kindred.
Now they asked him: "Dearest cousin,
"Will you please to let us know,
"Why you undertook this journey?"
He replied: "My dearest father!
"I have heard, that in this house
"There are bullocks to be sold,
"And moreover that there lives
"In this house a lovely maiden,
"Whom you want to give in marriage." —
"All the bullocks have been sold
"In July," replied the father,
"And the daughter too has gone,
"In the month of May she left us."
Then gave Mandanna this answer:
"Those that went, let them be happy,
"Give me her who still remains."
Spoke again to him the landlord:
"Tell me, why you called me, 'Father'?"
Then spoke Mandanna the clever:
"I have seen your lovely daughter,
"That is why I call you 'Father.'
"Evermore with admiration
"You behold the stately palm-tree;
"If a tree is poor and crippled,
"You forget to look upon it."
Then the father spoke again:
"I will let you have the daughter,
"Give a pledge, that you will take her." —
"Shake then hands with me," replied
Mandanna, "and as a pledge
"Take from me this piece of money."
After this the father sent
For his Ar'vu to assist him
In the wedding ceremony;
Women swept the house and chambers,
Filled the store-rooms with provisions
For the merry wedding feast.
Where the beauteous brazen lamp
From the ceiling is suspended,
Aruvas and near relations
Came together from both houses,
Stood and settled the engagement
And the lucky day of wedding.
Whereupon the happy bridegroom

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Gave his bride a golden necklace
As a pledge, and eight days after
Was the wedding celebrated.

[574] In the afternoon, the bridegroom is conducted by his party in procession to the house of the bride. There a new feast is provided for the strangers, abundance of rice, pork and spirits. Dinner over, the parties of the bride and bridegroom, each consisting of the representatives of their respective villages, stand in two rows opposite each other. A lamp is lit between them. The bride's party, the Aruva being spokesman, ask the bridegroom's party: "do you give to our daughter, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver?" This question is thrice put. When it is answered in the affirmative, the bridegroom's Aruva delivers three little pebbles into the hand of the bride, who binds them into the hem of her garment, in token of her right to the property of her future husband's home. The bride is then conducted into the kitchen and seated upon a stool. A light is kindled. The bridegroom is now brought in. He strews some grains of rice upon her head, gives her a little milk to drink, and makes her a present of some coin, half a rupee or a rupee. He is succeeded by his parents and relatives, who salute the bride in the same manner. After this welcome, given by the whole family to the new member, the bridegroom takes the hand of his bride, bids her rise, and leads her into the outer room of the house. Thus the daughter bids farewell to the house of her birth and renounces all her claims upon the family and property of her parents. Upon this the wedding party returns to the bridegroom's house. Again the guests are [624] feasted. Then the Aruva of the husband conducts bride and bridegroom into their own room, and dismisses the party.

After five, or seven, or nine, or eleven days the bride's relatives arrive at the house of the newly married couple, and carry the bride with them.

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carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs, which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect